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To repair a break in the patrilineal line, one man who had himself been adopted out of his father's lineage adopted his sister's son, whom he gave to the lineage of his own blood father; one father who is adopted into a lineage not that of his own father has given his own son back to the lineage of his father, the child's paternal grandfather. In the first case the child lives with his adopted father, his maternal uncle, and is considered the *tama hoketi* of that man, but at death he will go to the cemetery of the adopted father's blood father. No ceremony accompanied the gift adoptions.

A woman has adopted a *tama hoketi* from her own relatives, and her husband has adopted a *tama hoketi* from his own relatives. They have arranged that at death the maternally adopted child is to be buried in the cemetery of the father, the paternally adopted child to be buried in the cemetery of the mother. The exchange is called *yami*, and is apparently a type of gift motivated by sentiment. Some informants explained the matter as being, in some obscure manner, a double payment (*uwi tutahi*).

583 It is evidently a special personal arrangement. It took place some years ago, after a secret elopement to a distant small bay, where the couple remained hidden from the marriage of an irate husband. It is possible that special circumstances, coupled with the fact that the wife is barren, governed the exchange of children.

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In complete adoption, the paternal descent group of the adopted child is regularly changed to the lineage of the adopting father, unless he arranges to give the child to another lineage. The matter is somewhat different as regards the change of maternal descent line (*aua*) of the adopted child. The cultural theory is that adopting parents have the right to change the maternal lineage of the *tama hoketi* to that of one of the adopting parents. Some informants thought the change should be to the lineage of the adopting mother. If the *tama hoketi* is a girl, according to these informants, her children will all belong to the maternal lineage of the adopting mother, unless at the time of the adoption an agreement is made with the adopted child's natural mother that some of the *tama hoketi's* children will revert to the blood mother's maternal lineage. In this agreement covering the adoption, the number of children and their sex who are to revert to the blood mother's lineage are specified so that no confusion later arises. Census material, however, includes three adopted children (in households 3, 5, 6), each a female, who became members not only of the adopting father's paternal lineage but of his (not his wife's) maternal lineage as well.

Two of these adopted girls are still unmarried and have no children. The third (household 3) is a widow whose own daughter, never adopted, is a member of the mother's own mother's maternal lineage, and not of the mother's adopted (father's) maternal lineage. Here the effect of lineage change is purely temporary, a matter of added membership to the father's maternal lineage during the adopted child's life. This entitles her to share in the food and land divisions of the adopted lineage, but it will not by itself add to the vitality of the father's paternal descent line. That her children revert to the maternal lineage of their maternal grandmother registers the break of one generation in that line of descent.

In theory, if his maternal lineage is dying out, a father may adopt one of his blood daughters into his own lineage. In this event, an arrangement would be made such that half of her children would continue to belong to the father's maternal lineage, while the other half would revert to the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans



595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wawine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atamai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

### Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 821 832 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

### Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 585 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakaumalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakaonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

836 584 A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or